

# AKKADIAN PERSONAL NAMES WITH *PAḤĀRU* OR *SAḤĀRU* AS INITIAL ELEMENT

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## 1. Introduction

The typology of Akkadian anthroponyms is well known, largely owing to the work of J. J. Stamm, who in 1939 published his *Die akkadische Namengebung*, in which he studied all by-then-known Akkadian personal names and designed a typology of them.<sup>1</sup> This study remains, to this day, the most important work on Akkadian onomastics, although some later publications have completed or altered Stamm's views, partly because of the discovery of new personal names.<sup>2</sup>

The topic of this paper is a detail in Akkadian onomastics, that is, the reading of two logograms occurring in Akkadian personal names, namely, NIGIN and NIGIN<sub>2</sub>. The logogram NIGIN is rendered in Akkadian as (1) *lam/wû*, "to surround"; (2) *maḥāru*, "to square" (math.); (3) *naphāru*, "total"; (4) *paḥāru*, "to gather, assemble"; (5) *saḥāru*, "to go around, search, turn"; and (6) *šādu*, "to roam around, turn." NIGIN<sub>2</sub> has fewer Akkadian equivalents: (1) *lam/wû*, (2) *paḥāru* and (3) *saḥāru*, three verbs that also can be rendered by NIGIN.<sup>3</sup> When one of these logograms occurs in a personal name, its reading is either a form of *paḥāru* or a form of *saḥāru*, which is confirmed by syllabic writings of anthroponyms.

Forms of *paḥāru* and *saḥāru* occur frequently in personal names from the Old Babylonian period onwards. Each is attested as the initial, middle, or final element of personal names. Additionally there are some hypocoristic names consisting only of a form of one of these verbs, for example, Mupaḥḥirum.

This paper focuses on the two logograms in initial position, investigating which verb (*paḥāru* or *saḥāru*) is rendered by NIGIN or NIGIN<sub>2</sub>. To accomplish this goal I will first offer a list of all relevant names (see 4 below). These encompass (1) names of the type NIGIN-DN or NIGIN<sub>2</sub>-DN; (2) syllabically spelled names beginning with a form of *paḥāru*, and; (3) syllabically spelled names beginning with a form of *saḥāru*. Following this name inventory I will analyze the names, and finally, offer some remarks on this issue.

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1. Abbreviations are cited according to the systems used in the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary and in Northern Akkad Project Reports 8, 1993, 49–77, except for APN (= K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Acta Societatis scientiarum fennicae 43/1 [Helsinki: ex Officina typographica Societatis litterariae fennicae, 1914]); NBN (= K. L. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch zu den Geschäftsurkunden aus der Zeit des Šamašsumukin bis Xerxes*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 32/2 [Helsinki: ex Officina typographica Societatis litterariae fennicae, 1905]); PNA (= *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project [Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1998–]); and TuM (= O. Krückmann, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, TuM 2/3 [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933]).

2. E.g., M. Stol, "Old Babylonian Personal Names," *SEL* 8 (1991) 191–212, with literature.

3. R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, AOAT 305 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 420–21 and 424.

It will be useful to begin with a catalog of the names that include a form of one of the two verbs in medial or final position. This catalog is divided into two groups: (1) names with a form of *paḥāru* as middle or final element, and (2) names with a form of *saḥāru* as middle or final element. For the sake of completeness, this catalog will be followed by a list of the names, spelled both logographically and syllabically, that consist of a form of *paḥāru* or *saḥāru*. It should be noted that in these personal names *paḥāru* is almost exclusively attested in the D-stem (preterite, imperative, infinitive, and participle). The only form in the G-stem is the precative (*lipḥur*), but no D precatives are found. On the other hand, *saḥāru* is always attested in the N-stem.

## 2. Catalog of Names in Medial or Final Position

### 2.1 Names with a Form of *paḥāru* as Middle or Final Element

#### 2.1.1 Old Babylonian

- (1) Aḥum-lipḥur, “May the brother gather together,” spelled *A-ḥu-um-li-ip-ḥu-ur*.<sup>4</sup>
- (2) Ilum-mupaḥḥir, “God is the one who gathers together (his people),” spelled *DINGIR-mu-pa-ḥi-ir*.<sup>5</sup>
- (3) Saphum-lipḥur, “May the expelled gather together,” spelled *Sà-ap-ḥu-li-ip-ḥu-ur*<sup>6</sup> and *Sà-ap-ḥu-um-li-ip-ḥu-ur*.<sup>7</sup>
- (4) Sîn-mupaḥḥir, “Sîn is the one who gathers (his people),” spelled *EN.ZU-mu-pa-ḥi-ir*.<sup>8</sup>

#### 2.1.2 Middle Assyrian

- (1) Aššūr-mupaḥḥir-nišešu, “Assur is the one who gathers together his people,” spelled *mdA-šur-mu-pa-ḥi-ir-ni-še-šu*.<sup>9</sup>
- (2) Bēr-upaḥḥir, “Bēr has gathered together,” spelled *mdBe-er-ú-pa-ḥi-ir*.<sup>10</sup>

#### 2.1.3 Neo-Assyrian<sup>11</sup>

- (1) Amurru-upaḥḥir, “Amurru has gathered together.”<sup>12</sup>
- (2) Aššūr-mâtka-paḥḥir, “O Assūr, gather together your country.”
- (3) Aššūr-mupaḥḥir, “Assūr is the one who gathers together.”

4. *PBS* 11/2 67:3.

5. *UET* 5 316:5.

6. *MHET* 2/6 870:20.

7. *AbB* 1 115:3; *AbB* 7 36:20; *PBS* 8/2 125:tablet 22, case 16; S. Dalley, C. B. F. Walker and J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell Al Rimah* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1976), no. 317:4; *YOS* 14 217:9.

8. J. B. Christian, *Some Unpublished Old Babylonian Letters at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 1969), 62–63 no. 21:5,12; *SLB* 1/2 36:6; *UET* 5 120:11, 809:29; *YOS* 5 4 v 12, 104:tablet 6, case 5, 132:8; *YOS* 12 521:5, seal; *YOS* 14 139:10.

9. *KAJ* 143:3.

10. *Iraq* 30/2 pl. 67 TR 101:7 and 102:6.

11. Possibly Adad-upaḥḥir, Aššūr-upaḥḥir, Būru-upaḥḥir, Marduk-upaḥḥir, Nabū-upaḥḥir, and Ninurta-upaḥḥir too should be listed here, but that depends on how NIGIN in these names is read (J. Tavernier, “Zu den neuassyrischen Namen mit akk. *paḥāru* oder *saḥāru* im Hinterglied,” *WdO* 36 [2006], 5–14). See *ibid.* for the spellings and attestations of the Neo-Assyrian names in this article. In any case the reading with *upaḥḥir* is probable, since this lexeme is attested in final position.

12. *SAA* 18 53: rev. 6, with collation on p. 220. L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, vol. 2. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series 18 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930–36), 494 reads *mdKúr-gal-zu*.

- (4) Bēl-upaḥḥir, “Bēl has gathered together.”
- (5) Bēr-upaḥḥir, “Bēr has gathered together.”
- (6) Ilu-lipḥur, “May god gather together (his people).”
- (7) Ilu-paḥḥir, “God, gather together (the family).”
- (8) Šamaš-upaḥḥir, “Šamaš has gathered together.”

#### 2.1.4 Neo- and Late Babylonian

- (1) Amurru-upaḥḥir, “Amurru has gathered together,” spelled ʾWrphr in Aramaic,<sup>13</sup> and <sup>md</sup>KUR.GAL-ú-paḥ-ḥir<sup>14</sup> as well as <sup>md</sup>KUR.GAL-NIGIN-ir<sup>15</sup> in Akkadian.
- (2) Anu-upaḥḥir, “Anu has gathered together,” spelled <sup>md</sup>A-num-NIGIN-ir<sup>16</sup> and <sup>md</sup>DIŠ-NIGIN-ir.<sup>17</sup>
- (3) Bēl-upaḥḥir, “Bēl has gathered together,” spelled <sup>md</sup>EN-NIGIN,<sup>18</sup> <sup>md</sup>EN-NIGIN-ir,<sup>19</sup> <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-NIGIN-ir,<sup>20</sup> <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-pa-ḥir,<sup>21</sup> <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-pa-ḥir<sup>22</sup> and <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-paḥḥir.<sup>23</sup> This name is the most frequent one among the Neo- and Late Babylonian paḥḥāru-names.
- (3) Ilū-puḥḥir, “O God, gather together,” spelled <sup>md</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ-puḥ-ḥir.<sup>24</sup>
- (4) Nabū-upaḥḥir, “Nabū has gathered together,” spelled <sup>md</sup>AG-NIGIN-ir,<sup>25</sup> <sup>md</sup>AG-NIGIN<sub>2</sub>-ir<sup>26</sup> and <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-NIGIN-ir.<sup>27</sup>

13. BE 10 105:R. See *inter alia* A. T. Clay, “Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašû Sons,” in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, ed. R. F. Harper (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908), 311.

14. BE 10 105:10,16.

15. Nbk 116:23. Tallqvist (NBN 47, 85 and 233) erroneously reads Bēl-upaḥḥir.

16. Dar 163:19.

17. BaM 21 585–86 no. 20:12.

18. Durand, *catalogue EPHE* 508: rev. 9; Nbk 244:16; Nbn 42:17.

19. K. Abraham, *Business and Politics under the Persian Empire: The Financial Dealings of Marduk-nāšir-apli of the House of Egibi [521–487 B.C.E.]* (Bethesda: CDL, 2004), 18:10, 45:1, 10, 12, 14, 18, 19, 60:4, 8, 10, 67:7; C. Waerzeggers, *Het archief van Marduk-rēmanni* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Gent, 2001), nos. 115:16 and 171:15; *AnOr* 8 58:5; *AOAT* 272 738 no. 7:8; *Babylonische Archive* 1 37:9; *BRM* 1 38:11, 19, 41:10, 84:22; Peiser, *Verträge* 86:10; *Camb.* 122:13; *CM* 20B 106–7 no. 83:27, 32, 123 no. 97:2, 194 no. 160: rev. 6'; *CT* 2 10b:11; *CT* 4 41b:3; *CT* 56 775: obv. 10'; *CTMMA* 24:2, 70:10'; *Dar.* 35:12, 60:8, 345:4, 16, 509:2, 520:21; Durand, *Catalog EPHE* 468:2, 530:3; Strassmaier, *Liverpool* 44:12; Moore, *Michigan* 9:1, 4, 7, 11, 12, 15, 21; *MMA* 2 7:11; *Nbk.* 78:1,12, 103:15, 124:4, 133:19, 164:45, 334:2,11, 403:1; *Nbn.* 4:18, 5:12, 11:15, 15:16, 18:11, 34:12, 68:9, 87:5, 103:21, 107:13, 130:10, 145:13, 148:17, 151–152:13, 154:12, 157:17, 160:13, 169:12, 210:16, 1047:20, 1111:3; *Ngl.* 66:19, 67:15; *OECT* 10 3:rev.8', 193:11; *OIP* 122 20:6, 130:1, 169 ii 11; *PIHANS* 80 482 (BM 74524:12, 74563:17, 77929:21); *PIHANS* 86 133–34 (BM 42302:21), 177–78 (BM 42408:9, 12, 25), 194–95 (BM 42540:13,16), 198–99 (BM 42551+:22,24), 201–2 (BM 42555:12), 232–33 (BM 43290+:15); *RA* 41 101:3; *RA* 97 72–73 (BM 54075+:17), 89–90 (BM 54297+:10), 99–100 (BM 54655+: rev. 4, 7), 102–3 (BM 54802+:40), 104–5 (BM 92715:28), 106–7 (BM 92716:14,22,27); *TCL* 9 142:3; *TCL* 12 72:13; *TCL* 13 218:1; *TEBR* 71:7; *TuM* 2/3 7:23; *UET* 4 156:1, 202:19; *VS* 4 188:11; *VS* 5 74:10; *VS* 6 20:6, 50:13, 255:8, rev. 3'; *YOS* 6 135:8; *YOS* 17 36:11, 133:2, 265:4, 266:2, 315:10, 353:2; *YOS* 19 115:10, 260:4, 265:6.

20. C. Waerzeggers, *Het archief van Marduk-rēmanni*, no. 201a:32; *PIHANS* 86 164–65 (BM 42371: rev. 8'), 228–30 (BM 43178+:24).

21. *Nbn.* 15:8.

22. *VS* 4 188:10; *YOS* 7 9:13.

23. *BE* 9 37:3; *PBS* 2/1 3:25.

24. *EE* 19:1. Reading adopted from M. W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*, *PIHANS* 54 (Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archeologisch instituut, 1985), 292, as paḥḥir would be an Assyrian form in a Late Babylonian context. Another problem is the apparent contradiction between the plural form DINGIR.MEŠ and the singular imperative puḥḥir. Possibly DINGIR.MEŠ must be considered an expression indicating the totality of all gods.

25. *Nbk* 216:14; *OECT* 10 48:39; *OIP* 122 18:10; *PIHANS* 80 502 (BM 100719:9'); *TEBR* 113:16.

26. *TEBR* 113:7.

27. *Iraq* 60 207–8 no. 1:9'.

- (5) Nergal-upaḥḥir, “Nergal has gathered together,” spelled <sup>md</sup>ŠI.DU-ú-paḥ-ḥir<sup>28</sup> and <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-NIGIN-ir.<sup>29</sup>  
 (6) Ninurta-upaḥḥir, “Ninurta has gathered.” spelled <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-NIGIN-ir.<sup>30</sup>  
 (7) Šin-upaḥḥir, “Šin has gathered together.” spelled <sup>md</sup>30-NIGIN-ir.<sup>31</sup>  
 (8) Šamaš-upaḥḥir, “Šamaš has gathered together.” spelled <sup>md</sup>UTU-NIGIN-ir<sup>32</sup>, <sup>md</sup>UTU-ú-NIGIN-ir<sup>33</sup> and <sup>md</sup>UTU-ú-paḥ-ḥi-ir.<sup>34</sup>

### 2.1.5 Early Hellenistic

- (1) Bēl-upaḥḥir, “Bēl has gathered together,” spelled <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-NIGIN-ir.<sup>35</sup> This is the only *paḥāru*-name found in texts from the Hellenistic period.

## 2.2 Names with a Form of saḥāru as Final Element

### 2.2.1 Old Babylonian

- (1) Ilī-issaḥram, “My god has turned to me,” spelled *lī-lī-is-sa-aḥ-ra-am*.<sup>36</sup>

### 2.2.2 Middle Babylonian

- (1) Šin-issaḥra, “Šin has turned to me,” spelled <sup>m(d)</sup>30-is-sa-aḥ-ra,<sup>37</sup> <sup>md</sup>30-is-saḥ-ra<sup>38</sup> and <sup>md</sup>30-NIGIN-ra.<sup>39</sup>

### 2.2.3 Middle Assyrian

- (1) Ilī/Innašhira, “My god, turn to me,” spelled <sup>(m)</sup>DINGIR-na-ás-ḥi-ra,<sup>40</sup> *I-l[i-na-ás-ḥi-ra]*<sup>41</sup> and <sup>(m)</sup>*In-na-ás-ḥi-ra*.<sup>42</sup>

28. BE 9 14:13. The editors (Clay and Hilprecht, p. 68) erroneously read Ninurta-upaḥḥir.

29. Mich. 72:4.

30. BE 8/1 118:4; TuM 2/3 92:8.

31. UET 4 201:8.

32. AfO Beih. 25 21 no. 7:rev.3, 101 no. 29:10, 223 no. 68:3; C. Waerzeggers, *Het archief van Marduk-rēmanni*, no. 123:16; BM 60617, 67557 (see M. Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*, AfO. Beih. 25 [Wien: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1995], 33); Camb. 80:11; CT 22 20:11, 37:7, 18, 38:8, 25, 196: rev. 4'; CT 55 9: rev. 2'; CT 56 487:3; Cyr. 34:23, 112:6, 118:3, 244:15; Dar. 370:10; Nbk. 458:11; Nbn. 279:3, 786:13, 791:4; OECT 10 151:10.

33. VS 3 154:9.

34. TuM 2/3 215:2.

35. OECT 9 75:5'.

36. VS 13 75: rev. 6 (= VS 13 75a: rev. 6).

37. BE 14 15:3.

38. BE 14 23:7; BE 15 22:4,9, 30 case:9, 35:11, 38c:8, 9, 23, 39:4, 41:4, 6, 42:5, 8, 50:2, 9, 13, 59:3, 64:6, 68:5, 73:6, 9, 12, 82:5, 89:4, 103:8, 115:7, 122:2, 4, 128:2, 13, 130:7, 131:11, 136:5, 147:5, 10, 154:29, 163:25, 164:7, 166:5, 11, 20, 175 i 23, 33, 39, iv 5', 194:14; BE 17 85:8; CT 51 17:4; PBS 2/2 138:6; WZJ 8, pls.7-8:25.

39. BE 14 14:5; BE 15 196:18.

40. KAJ 20:5, 146:9.

41. KAJ 20:13.

42. KAJ 35:1, 6, 13, 66:36.

The close relationship of KAJ 35 and 146, for example, confirms the fact that the various spellings certainly refer to one individual.<sup>43</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Neo-Assyrian

- (1) Aššūr-nashira, “O Assur, turn (your favor) to me.”
- (2) Bēl-nashira, “O Assur, turn (your favor) to me.”

### 3. Catalog of Names Consisting of a Form of *paḫāru* or *saḫāru*

#### 3.1 Logographically Spelled Names

##### 3.1.1 Middle Babylonian

- (1) Issaḫranni<sup>44</sup> (“He has turned to me”), Nashiranni (“Turn to me”), or Upaḫḫiranni (“He gathered me [with the family]”):<sup>45</sup> spelled <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-*an-ni*.<sup>46</sup>

##### 3.1.2 Neo-Babylonian

- (1) Upaḫḫir:<sup>47</sup> spelled <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-*ir*.<sup>48</sup>

#### 3.2 Syllabically Spelled Names Consisting of a Form of *paḫāru*

##### 3.2.1 Old Babylonian

- (1) Mupaḫḫirum, “The gatherer,” spelled *Mu-pa-ḫi-rum*.<sup>49</sup>
- (2) Puḫḫuru, “To gather”: spelled *Pu-ḫu-ru-um*.<sup>50</sup>

##### 3.2.2 Neo-Assyrian

- (1) Lipḫur, “May he gather together:” spelled <sup>m</sup>*Li-ip-ḫur*,<sup>51</sup> <sup>m</sup>*Líp-ḫur*<sup>52</sup> and <sup>m</sup>*Lip-ḫu-ru*.<sup>53</sup>

43. H. A. Fine, “Studies in Middle-Assyrian Chronology and Religion,” *HUCA* 24 (1952–1953) 212–14; C. Saporetti, *Onomastica medio-assira*, vol. 1. Studia Pohl 6 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 250.

44. M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der Kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*, IMGULA 1 (Münster: Rhema, 1996), 108.

45. A. T. Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers*, BE 14 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1906), 54; J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, MVAG 44 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939), 290.

46. BE 14 120:20.

47. *TuM* 2/3, sub nomine.

48. *TuM* 2/3 132:17.

49. BE 6/1 37:21; CT 2 28:29; CT 4 18b:22.

50. *AbB* 7 61:5.

51. VAT 20408: rev. 3.

52. SAA 14 230:7.

53. SAA 14 317: rev. 4.

### 3.2.3 Neo- and Late Babylonian:

- (1) Puḫḫura: spelled <sup>m</sup>Pu-ḫu-ra-a<sup>54</sup> and <sup>m</sup>Pu-uḫ-ḫu-ra-a.<sup>55</sup>
- (2) Puḫḫuru, “To gather:” spelled <sup>m</sup>Pu-uḫ-ḫur<sup>56</sup> and <sup>m</sup>Pu-uḫ-ḫu-ru.<sup>57</sup>
- (3) Upaḫḫir, “He gathered:” spelled <sup>m</sup>Ú-paḫ-ḫir.<sup>58</sup>

### 3.3 Syllabically Spelled Names Consisting of a Form of saḫāru

#### 3.3.1 Old Babylonian

- (1) Naṣḫiram, “Turn to me:” spelled Na-ās-ḫi-ra-am.<sup>59</sup>

#### 3.3.2 Middle Assyrian

- (1) Naṣḫiriya: spelled <sup>(m)</sup>Na-ās-ḫi-ri-ia.<sup>60</sup>

#### 3.3.3 Neo-Assyrian

- (1) Naṣḫira: spelled Na-ās-ḫi-ra.<sup>61</sup>

## 4. Name Inventory

### 4.1 Names of the Type NIGIN-DN OR NIGIN<sub>2</sub>-DN

- (1) <sup>m</sup>NIGIN<sub>2</sub>-[<sup>d</sup>AMA]R.UTU (Neo-Assyrian):<sup>62</sup> read Lipḫur-Marduk, “May Marduk gather together”<sup>63</sup> and Naṣḫir-Marduk, “Turn (to me), o Marduk.”<sup>64</sup>
- (2) <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-ár-DINGIR (Neo-Assyrian):<sup>65</sup> read Niṣḫar-ili, “We have appealed to the god”<sup>66</sup> (the correct form would be Niṣḫur-ili) and Saḫār-ili, “Return of the God.”<sup>67</sup>

54. PBS 2/1 209:5, 9.

55. BE 9 75:6, obv.; PBS 2/1 84:14, rev.

56. OECT 12 A175:1; TuM 2/3 109:4, 153:4.

57. BE 9 6:11, 19:3; BE 10 23:18, 44:1; Dar. 369:2, 7, 10, 473:2; EE 45:10; IMT 64:3, 67:3; Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa* 343 (NBC 8360:4); Nbn. 716:10; OECT 10 130:26, 184:7; OECT 12 A85:2, A87:8, A98:12, A131:8, 13; OIP 122 13:10, 42: rev. 6'; TCL 12 6:4, 6, 8, 13, 37; TuM 2/3 5:2, 14:3, 5, 7, 10, 15, 23:4, 9, 10, 21, 25:1, 48:5, 51:3, 9, 103:3, 5, 7, 108:1, 133:2 (abbreviated <sup>m</sup>Pu-uḫ), 134:2, 16, 258:2; VS 3 180:15; YOS 17 5:2.

58. OIP 114 126:21.

59. VS 7 3:2.

60. KAJ 66:39, 46, 190:9, 18; VS 19 56:46, 69.

61. JCS 7 170 no. 72:32.

62. BATSH 6 121: rev. 5.

63. K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Hamad*, BATSH 6 (Berlin: Reimer, 2002), 244.

64. PNA 933.

65. BATSH 6 122: rev. 16.

66. K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Hamad*, 164, 248.

67. PNA 1062. Attested in SAA 6 277: rev. 9 (674 bc).

- (3) <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN (Neo-Assyrian): fifteen of the twenty-one attestations of this name (belonging to six individuals) are written logographically (<sup>m</sup>NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN) and precisely these spellings are the cause of the five proposed readings of this anthroponym: (1) Lipḥur-Bēl, “May Bēl gather together,”<sup>68</sup> (2) Naṣḥir(a)-Bēl, “Turn [to me], O Bēl,”<sup>69</sup> (3) Naṣḥur-Bēl, “favorable attention of Bēl,”<sup>70</sup> (4) Naṣḥur-Bēl<sup>71</sup> and (5) Upaḥḥir-Bēl, “Bēl has gathered together.”<sup>72</sup> Of these readings preference is given to Naṣḥir(a)-Bēl as the most plausible one<sup>73</sup> because of the Middle Assyrian spellings beginning with *Na-ās-hi-*<sup>74</sup> on the one hand and the Neo-Assyrian spellings <sup>m</sup>*Na-as-ḥir*-EN and <sup>m</sup>*Na-ās-ḥir*-EN on the other. The reading Naṣḥur-Bēl, however, cannot be ruled out completely since the values *ḥir* and *hur* are expressed by the same cuneiform sign (ḤUR).

As mentioned above the most frequent spelling of this name is <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-EN<sup>74</sup> (fifteen times). The spelling <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-*ra*-EN occurs three times.<sup>75</sup> The other spellings of this name are <sup>m</sup>*Na-ās-ḥir*-EN (twice)<sup>76</sup> and <sup>m</sup>*Na-as-ḥir*-EN (once).<sup>77</sup> See 4.3 no. 4.

- (4) NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN-LĪL (Achaemenid): At first sight two persons bear this name. The first one is attested in two texts as the father of Arad-Ninurta, the scribe of both texts.<sup>78</sup> The reading is not sure. Hilprecht and Clay<sup>79</sup> mention Ritti- or Upaḥḥir- as possible readings of NIGIN, while Cardascia and Stolper prefer Upaḥḥir-Enlil.<sup>80</sup>

The second individual named NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN-LĪL is also mentioned as father, again of a scribe. This scribe is the well-known Ninurta-bēl-aḥḥēšu, who wrote twenty-five Murašû texts and one other text between October 424 and October 415.<sup>81</sup> The reading Upaḥḥir-Enlil is widely accepted.<sup>82</sup>

68. G. Lanfranchi, S. Parpola, and J. Reade, *The Correspondence of Sargon, II.2: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*, SAA 5 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990), nos. 1–20.

69. K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, TAVO Beih. B 26 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980), 153 n. 522; K. Deller, “Ausgewählte neuassyrische Briefe betreffend Urartu zur Zeit Sargons II.,” *Tra lo Zagros e l’Urmia: Ricerche storiche ed archeologiche nell’Azerbaijan Iraniano*, ed. P. E. Pecorella and M. Salvini, Incunabula Graeca 78 (Rome: Ateneo, 1984), 108; S. Dalley and J. N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*, CTN 3 (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1984), 156; H. W. F. Saggs, *The Nimrud Letters*, 1952, CTN 5 (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001), 223.

70. A. Ungnad, “Eponymen,” *RLA* 2 (1938) 452; A. R. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910–612 BC*, SAAS 2 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1994), 48, 109; A. Fuchs and J. Reade, *The Correspondence of Sargon, II.3: Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces*, SAA 15 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2001), 18.

71. H. W. F. Saggs, “The Nimrud Letters, 1952 – Part IX,” *Iraq* 36 (1974) 218.

72. *APN* 242; L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* I, 115, 134, 295; II, 15; D. J. Wiseman, “The Nimrud Tablets, 1953,” *Iraq* 15 (1953) 159.

73. M. P. Streck, “Naṣḥir(a)-Bēl,” *RLA* 9, 184–85.

74. Eponym List A1 v 19, A4 ii 14, A9 i 15; Eponym Chronicle B6: rev. 8; *CTN* 3 92:4; *CTN* 5 pl. 44 (ND 2410:19); *Iraq* 15 147 and 152 pl. xiii (ND 3471:2); *SAA* 5 1:1, 3:1, 6:2, 15–16:2, 18:2, 20:7; *SAA* 15 24: rev. 17.

75. *2R* 63: rev. iv 7; Eponym List A2 vi 7, A6 iii 6’.

76. *Iraq* 15 147 and 153, pl. xiv (ND 3473:2); *RIM*. Suppl. 1 233:6.

77. *KAH* 1 41:7.

78. *BE* 9 78:12 (23/11/425) and *JCS* 53 96 no. 7:19 (420/19).

79. A. T. Clay and H. V. Hilprecht, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I. (464–424 B.C.)*, *BE* 9 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Department of Archaeology, 1898), 69.

80. G. Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû: Une famille d’hommes d’affaires babyloniens à l’époque perse (455–403 av. J.-C.)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1951), 63; M. W. Stolper, “Fifth Century Nippur: Texts of the Murašûs and Their Surroundings,” *JCS* 53 (2001) 99.

81. *BE* 9 97:15, 98:14; *BE* 10 99:17, 104:10, 111:18, 115:21; *EE* 91:15; *IMT* 32:21 (written [ ]-<sup>d</sup>EN-LĪL. Traces on the tablet support a restoration [<sup>md</sup>NIGIN]-<sup>d</sup>EN-LĪL), 48:19, 74:13, 75:14, 76:16; *PBS* 2/1 61:11, 104:11, 108:13, 109:18, 111–112:15, 115:15, 123:28, 124:13, 131:15, 170:5, 208:20, 226:20; *TuM* 2/3 187:16. The text not belonging to the Murašû archive is *JCS* 40 132:17.

82. E. Kotalla, “Fünzig babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus der Zeit des Königs Artaxerxes I (464–424 v.Chr.),” *BA* 4 (1902) 568; A. T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II (424–404 B.C.)*, *BE* 10 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1904), 66; J. Augapfel, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes I. und Darius II.*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Denkschriften, 59. Band, 3. Abhandlung (Wien: Holder, 1917), 19, 75, 77, 97; V. Scheil, “Notules,” *RA* 14 (1917) 482; G. Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû*, 112; M. W. Stolper, “Fifth Century Nippur,” 99.



- (5) <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-DINGIR (Neo-Assyrian): read Lipḫur-ilu, “May the god gather together,”<sup>83</sup> Mupaḫḫir-ili, “God is the one who gathers,”<sup>84</sup> Naṣḫir(a)-ili, “Turn (to me), o god,”<sup>85</sup> Naṣḫur-ili, “favorable attention of god,”<sup>86</sup> and Upaḫḫir-ili, “God gathered together.”<sup>87</sup> Seven individuals bear this name, which is mostly spelled <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-DINGIR (four times),<sup>88</sup> but also <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-*ra*-DINGIR<sup>89</sup> (two times) and <sup>m</sup>NIGIN<sub>2</sub>-*ḫir*-DINGIR<sup>90</sup> (one time).
- (6) NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>IM (Middle Babylonian):<sup>91</sup> read Naṣḫira-Adad<sup>92</sup> and Upaḫḫir-Adad.<sup>93</sup>
- (7) NIGIN<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>NUSKA (Middle Babylonian): read Upaḫḫir-Nusku.<sup>94</sup>
- (8) <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>U.GUR (Neo-Assyrian):<sup>95</sup> read Naṣḫira-Nergal.<sup>96</sup>
- (9) <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-15 (Neo-Assyrian):<sup>97</sup> read Naṣḫir-Issār<sup>98</sup> and Puḫrat-Issār, “Ištar is gathered”<sup>99</sup> (based on <sup>m</sup>*Pu-uḫ-ra-ti*-<sup>d</sup>INNIN; see 4.2 no. 6).

#### 4.2 Syllabically Spelled Names Beginning with a Form of paḫāru

- (1) *Ip-ḫu-ur-É-a*, “Ea has gathered together” (Old Babylonian).<sup>100</sup>
- (2) *Ip-ḫu-ur-gi-mil*-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR, “He has gathered the favor of Iškur” (Old Babylonian).<sup>101</sup>
- (3) *Lip-ḫur*-[ ], “May [x] gather together” (Neo-Assyrian).<sup>102</sup>
- (4) *Li-ip-ḫu-ur*-DINGIR, “May god gather together” (Old Babylonian):<sup>103</sup> name read Lipḫur-Anum by Chiera.<sup>104</sup> Nonetheless the spelling of the name points to a reading Lipḫur-ilu.
- (5) *Lip-ḫur*-DINGIR and *Líp-ḫur*-DINGIR, “May god gather together” (Neo-Assyrian).<sup>105</sup>

83. V. Donbaz and S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul*, StAT 2 (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei, 2001), 248.

84. J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden in Umschrift und Uebersetzung nebst einem Index der Personen-Namen und Rechtserläuterungen* (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1913), 240.

85. F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records. 1: Palace and Temple Administration*, SAA 7 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992), 41; K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Hamad*, 248; PNA 933; Donbaz and Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul*, 55.

86. R. Mattila, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part 1: Assurbanipal through Sin-šarru-iškun*, SAA 14 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002), 41; PNA 933.

87. APN 242; B. Parker, “Administrative Tablets from the North-West Palace,” *Iraq* 23 (1961) 28, 64.

88. BATSH 6 95: rev. 6,11; SAA 7 30 ii 12; SAA 14 36: rev. 9.

89. *Iraq* 23 18 and pl. ix (ND 2084:19); StAT 2 72: rev. 2.

90. *Iraq* 23 27–28 and pl. xiv (ND 2443+: rev. i 6).

91. PBS 2/2 29:5.

92. L. Sassmanshausen, review of M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen*, BiOr 55 (1998) 833.

93. A. T. Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers*, PBS 2/2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1912), 83; J. J. Stamm, *Namengebung*, 290; M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen*, 228.

94. W. J. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I from Nippur: With a Concordance of Proper Names and a Glossary of the Kudurru Inscriptions Thus Far Published*, BE. Series D: Researches and Treatises 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1907), ii 13, iii 10 and 214; APN 242.

95. BATSH 6 170:2.

96. K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Hamad*, 248.

97. StAT 2 264:12.

98. PNA 998.

99. Donbaz and Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul*, 185 and 251; PNA 998.

100. MHET 2/1 116:16.

101. MHET 2/2 131:8.

102. TB 15b: rev. 1.

103. VS 13 73: rev. 1.

104. E. Chiera, *Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur: Lists of Akkadian Personal Names*, PBS 11/2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 146 no. 1580.

105. ADD 1955:3; Eponym Chronicle B1 94' and B3 4'; Eponym List A1 iv 10, A2 v 20 and A7 viii 24; *Iraq* 23 27 (ND 2443+ ii 8); SAA 6



- (6) <sup>m</sup>Pu-uh-ra-ti-<sup>d</sup>INNIN, “Ištar is gathered” (Neo-Assyrian):<sup>106</sup> see 4.1 no. 9.

#### 4.3 Syllabically Spelled Names Beginning With a Form of saḥāru

- (1) *I-sa-ḥur*-<sup>d</sup>ZU×EN, “Sin has turned to me” (Old Babylonian).<sup>107</sup>
- (2) <sup>m</sup>Na-ās-ḥi-ir-DINGIR, “Turn to me, my god” (Middle Assyrian):<sup>108</sup> this name was first read *Pa-ḥi-ir*-DINGIR by Saggs,<sup>109</sup> but Postgate has rightfully corrected this to *Na-ās-ḥi-ir*-DINGIR.<sup>110</sup>
- (3) <sup>m</sup>Na-ās-ḥi-ra-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU, “Turn to me, o Marduk” (Middle Assyrian).<sup>111</sup>
- (4) <sup>m</sup>Na-as-ḥir-EN and <sup>m</sup>Na-ās-ḥir-EN, “Turn to me, o Marduk” (Neo-Assyrian): see 4.1 no. 3.
- (5) *Na-ās-ḥu-ur*-<sup>d</sup>UTU-*da-mi-iq*, “The benevolent attention of Šamaš is favorable” (Old Babylonian).<sup>112</sup>
- (6) *Na-ās-ḥi-ra-am*-DINGIR, “Turn to me, o god” (Old Babylonian).<sup>113</sup>
- (7) *Ni-is-sa-ḥur*-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL (Achaemenid):<sup>114</sup> see section 5 for the reading of this name.
- (8) *Ni-is-ḥur*-<sup>d</sup>EN, *Nis-ḥur*-<sup>d</sup>EN, “We have appealed to Bēl” (Neo-Assyrian): Nishur-Bēl, a Babylonian major-domo (*rab bīti*) of Nabû-bēl-šumāti, appears in two (possibly three, see 4.3 no. 10) Neo-Assyrian letters.<sup>115</sup>
- (9) *Ni-is-ḥur*-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL, “We have appealed to Enlil” (Achaemenid).<sup>116</sup>
- (10) <sup>m</sup>Ni-is-ḥur-DINGIR, “We have appealed to god” (Neo-Assyrian):<sup>117</sup> attested in a broken context. The tablet clearly has <sup>m</sup>Ni-is-ḥur-DINGIR (Nishur-ilu; read as such by L. Waterman<sup>118</sup>), but De Vaan<sup>119</sup> proposes to emend the name into <sup>m</sup>Ni-is-ḥur-<sup>d</sup><EN> and identifies this person with Nishur-Bēl (4.3 no. 8).

## 5. Analysis

First of all it should be noted that the evidence on which the conclusions of this paper are based is necessarily circumstantial. The reason for this is that, as already mentioned above, both logograms NIGIN and NIGIN<sub>2</sub> may refer to both Akkadian verbs *paḥāru*, “to gather, bring together” and *saḥāru*, “to go around, turn, search.”

The oldest logographic writings of *paḥāru* and *saḥāru* as part of personal names date from the Middle Babylonian period. NIGIN is most frequently used, while NIGIN<sub>2</sub> only occurs in four names. Both logograms occur in initial and in final position.

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22:12, 26: rev. 11; TB 15:4.

106. SAA 14 317: rev. 5.

107. BIN 7 59:19 and its duplicate 60:22.

108. TR 2018:7.

109. H. W. F. Saggs, “The Tell Al Rimah Tablets, 1965,” *Iraq* 30 (1968) 158.

110. J. N. Postgate, review of C. Saporetti, *Onomastica medio-assira*, OAR 13 (1974) 70.

111. KAJ 6:33. See C. Saporetti, *Onomastica medio-assira* I, 347–48.

112. F. R. Kraus, *Briefe aus dem Istanbul Museum*, AbB 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 114, no. 220:20.

113. E. Grant, *Cuneiform Documents in the Smith College Library*, Biblical and Kindred Studies 1 (Haverford, PA: Haverford College, 1918), no. 263:8; YOS 13 252:6.

114. BE 9 9:16, IMT 66:21 and 67:15.

115. ABL 281: rev. 19 (spelled <sup>m</sup>Nis-ḥur-<sup>d</sup>EN), 791: rev. 1, 11 (spelled <sup>m</sup>Ni-is-ḥur-<sup>d</sup>EN).

116. BE 10 35:20.

117. ABL 1342:23.

118. L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence*, IV 139. Collation by G. Frame.

119. J. M. C. T. De Vaan, *Ich bin eine Schwertklinge des Königs: Die Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, AOAT 242 (Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker, 1995), 321. The same reading is found in PNA 965.

TABLE 1. SYLLABIC READINGS OF *paḥāru* AND *saḥāru* ATTESTED IN PERSONAL NAMES.(1) *paḥāru*

	Initial	Middle / Final
Old Babylonian	<i>ipḥur</i>	<i>lipḥur</i>
	<i>lipḥur</i>	<i>mupaḥḥir</i>
Middle Assyrian		<i>mupaḥḥir</i>
		<i>upaḥḥir</i>
Neo-Assyrian	<i>lipḥur</i>	<i>lipḥur</i>
	<i>puḥrat</i> (only once)	<i>mupaḥḥir</i>
		<i>paḥḥir</i>
		<i>upaḥḥir</i>
Late Babylonian		<i>paḥḥir</i> (only once)
		<i>upaḥḥir</i>

(2) *saḥāru*

	Initial	Middle / Final
Old Babylonian	<i>isaḥḥur</i>	<i>issaḥram</i>
	<i>nashīram</i>	
	<i>nashur</i>	
Middle Babylonian		<i>issaḥra</i>
Middle Assyrian	<i>nashīr</i>	<i>nashīra</i>
	<i>nashīra</i>	
Neo-Assyrian	<i>nashīr</i>	<i>nashīra</i>
Late Babylonian	<i>nishur</i>	
	<i>nissaḥur</i> (?)	

Because of the occurrence of Nishur-Bēl (4.3 no. 8) in Neo-Assyrian sources one could argue that *nishur* is also attested in Neo-Assyrian names, but as Nishur-Bēl is a Babylonian individual,<sup>120</sup> this idea should be rejected.

When looking at this table a first conclusion becomes apparent. The examples of *paḥāru*- and *saḥāru*-names show that the element *paḥāru* mostly occurs in the final position of a name, while *saḥāru* is more frequently attested in initial position. There are also more names with syllabic spellings of *saḥāru* in the beginning of the name than names with syllabic spellings of *paḥāru* in the beginning of the name.

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120. PNA 965.

Some of the elements remained in use for a long time: *lipḥur* (Old Babylonian to Neo-Assyrian; both initial and final), *mupahḥir* (Old Babylonian to Neo-Assyrian; middle / final), *nashḥir(am)* (Old Babylonian to Neo-Assyrian; both initial and final), *upahḥir* (Middle Assyrian to Late Babylonian; only in final position). Some are explicitly limited to one period: *ipḥur* (Old Babylonian; initial), *issaḥur* (Old Babylonian; initial), *nashḥur* (Old Babylonian; initial), *nishḥur* (Late Babylonian; initial) and *puḥrat* (Neo-Assyrian; initial).

Old Babylonian names show a wide variety of forms of both verbs. The Neo-Assyrian names beginning with NIGIN or NIGIN<sub>2</sub> have syllabic parallels, which indicates a reading using the element *lipḥur*, *nashḥir* (or *nashḥur*), and *puḥrat*. As mentioned before, there is no full agreement among scholars, but *nashḥir* seems to be the preferred reading for NIGIN or NIGIN<sub>2</sub>.

Late Babylonian names were apparently standardized, and only have the syllabic parallel *ni-is-sa-ḥur* / *ni-is-ḥur* for elements in initial position. Nowadays most scholars believe that initial NIGIN / NIGIN<sub>2</sub> should be read *upahḥir*, partly because of the fact that final NIGIN / NIGIN<sub>2</sub> is mostly read that way. Only two authors questioned this reading. Clay<sup>121</sup> realized that NIGIN / NIGIN<sub>2</sub> may represent both *paḥāru* and *saḥāru*, and that both verbs occur in anthroponyms (his examples are Enlil-upahḥir and Nis(sa)ḥar-Enlil).<sup>122</sup> He therefore concluded that it could not be determined whether NIGIN should be read *nishḥur* or *upahḥir*. Krückmann<sup>123</sup> went further by preferring a reading Nisḥḥar-Enlil for <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL (no. 2.2.4) and argued that NIGIN in the beginning of a name stands for *nissahar*, while at the end of a name it refers to *upahḥir*. He compared this to KAR, which in the beginning of a name renders *mušēzib*, while at the end of a name it stands for *ēṭir*.

The remarks of these two scholars were quickly forgotten. Nevertheless Krückmann seems to have been right. It has been made clear that not a single syllabic spelling of *upahḥir* as the first part of an Akkadian anthroponym is attested in the aforementioned list of anthroponyms, while various examples occur of *upahḥir*, spelled syllabically as the second part of a name (e.g., Bēl-upahḥir). This does not support a reading *upahḥir* for NIGIN as the first part of a name.

The second argument has already been mentioned, namely, that *saḥāru* is attested more frequently in the beginning of a name, while *paḥāru* in initial position is rare.

A third argument against a reading *upahḥir* is of a prosopographical nature. The names listed above contain three names occurring in the Murašû Archive: NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL, *Ni-is-sa-ḥur*-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL, and *Ni-is-ḥur*-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL. The first spelling apparently indicates two individuals: the father of Arad-Ninurta, a scribe, as well as the father of Ninurta-bēl-aḥḥēšu, also a scribe. The second spelling is attested as the son of Bēlšunu. The third spelling appears as the father of Arad-Ninurta, a scribe. It would be highly coincidental that two scribes with the same name would have a nearly identical patronymic and therefore I propose to identify NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL, the father of Arad-Ninurta, with *Ni-is-ḥur*-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL, the father of Arad-Ninurta. This, however, implies that the correct reading of this name is Nishḥur-Enlil, which does not correspond with the generally accepted reading *upahḥir* for NIGIN/ NIGIN<sub>2</sub>, at least with regard to this particular person. In addition it should not be excluded that NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL, the father of Ninurta-bēl-aḥḥēšu, is the same person as Nishḥur-Enlil, the father of Arad-Ninurta. Both sons were scribes and it is well possible that one family had various members with the same profession, for example, scribes. In Neo-Babylonian Uruk twenty-three scribal families (“Schreiberfamilien”) have been identified.<sup>124</sup> Also in Sippar there were families with many scribes (see Appendix).<sup>125</sup> Moreover, the rarity of the name Nishḥur-Enlil supports the identity of these persons.

121. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur* (BE 10), 66 n.5.

122. Clay erroneously read Bēl-upahḥir and Nis(sa)ḥar-Bēl.

123. O. Krückmann, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, 39 and n. 2.

124. H. M. Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk: Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu Berufsgruppen des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Uruk*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 20 (Berlin, 1979), 127–34.

125. A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar-Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography*, *PIHANS* 80 (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut, 1997), 68–98 and 481–502; C. Waerzeggers, *Het archief van Marduk-rēmanni*, 159.

The latter might also point to the identity of Nissahur-Enlil and Nishur-Enlil. In this case the spelling with SA of the first name must be understood as an idiosyncrasy of a particular scribe, namely, Nusku-iddin, who wrote all three texts mentioning Nissahur-Enlil. Chronologically the identification is perfectly possible, as Nissahur-Enlil is mentioned in 437, while Nishur-Enlil occurs from 425 to 415 B.C. Nevertheless, the identification is far from certain and should be treated with caution. If, however, the identification is correct, one can now trace back three generations of this Nippurean family: Bēšunu—Nishur-Enlil—Arad-Ninurta and Ninurta-bēl-aḥḥēšu. It is, however, not sure if Bēšunu and Nishur-Enlil were scribes themselves.

Conspicuously, Assyrian examples have almost exclusively *nashir(a)* as their first part, while Babylonian examples more frequently use *nishur*.<sup>126</sup> As already mentioned, the only possible exception to this, Nishur-Bēl (4.3 no. 8), who is attested in Neo-Assyrian letters, was a Babylonian working for Nabû-bēl-šumāti. There are therefore no exceptions to this assumption. One could argue here that the two dialects (Assyrian and Babylonian) preferred their own name-building elements. Consequently the names <sup>m</sup>NIGIN<sub>2</sub>-[<sup>d</sup>AMA]R.UTU (4.1 no. 1), <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN (4.1 no. 3), and <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-DINGIR (4.1 no. 5) should be read Nashir(a)-Marduk, Nashir(a)-Bēl and Nashir(a)-ilu respectively, because they all denote Assyrians. The spellings <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL (4.1 no. 4), <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>IM (4.1 no. 6) and <sup>m</sup>NIGIN-<sup>d</sup>NUSKA (4.1 no. 7) reflect Nishur-Enlil, Nishur-Adad and Nishur-Nusku, all Babylonians.

## 6. Conclusions

The verbs *paḥāru* and *saḥāru* are attested as elements of Akkadian personal names from the Old Babylonian period onwards. The oldest example seems to be Saphum-lipḥur, who is attested in a text from the seventh year of Abi-sarē (1899 B.C.; YOS 14 217). The oldest *saḥāru*-name is Issahur-Sîn, attested in a text from the reign of Lipit-Enlil (ca. 1875–1871 B.C.).

In the Middle Babylonian period, scribes began to render the forms of both verbs logographically, by using NIGIN or NIGIN<sub>2</sub>. The logographic use would eventually dominate the Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian periods.

Although both verbs occur in initial and final position, forms of *paḥāru* are more frequently attested in final position, while *saḥāru* rather occurs in initial position. This may be of some importance for the exact reading of NIGIN or NIGIN<sub>2</sub> in the names discussed above.

Concerning *saḥāru*, first-millennium Assyrian and Babylonian each have their preferences. Assyrian usage prefers *nashir* (N imper.), while Babylonian exclusively used *nishur* (G pret.), as shown by syllabic spellings.

During the Late Babylonian period a kind of standardization took place, as a consequence of which only one form of *paḥāru* and one of *saḥāru* are attested. The names belong, apart from one exception, to the types Nishur-DN or DN-upaḥḥir.

126. Another difference between Assyrian and Babylonian onomastics is that, while Neo-Assyrian has a wide variety of *paḥāru*-names, the Neo- and Late Babylonian *paḥāru*-names almost exclusively belong to the type DN-upaḥḥir.

### Appendix: Scribes Belonging to One Family

The tables are arranged according to family. The affiliations mentioned below make clear that various members of one family could be scribe.

#### 1) *Šangû-Ištar-Bābili*

No.	First name	Patronymic	Affiliation	Date
1	Nabû-šum-lišir	Balassu	father of 2–6	567–558/7
2	Bēl-iddina	Nabû-šum-lišir	son of 1; brother of 3–6	551–494
3	Ile'i-Marduk	Nabû-šum-lišir	son of 1; brother of 3, 4–6	541
4	Šamaš-uballit	Nabû-šum-lišir	son of 1; brother of 2–3, 5–6	526–521
5	Bēl-uballit	Nabû-šum-lišir	son of 1; brother of 2–4, 6	520
6	Nabû-ittannu	Nabû-šum-lišir	son of 1; brother of 2–5	518–517
7	Marduk-bēlšunu	Šamaš-uballit	son of 4; grandson of 1	493–484
8	Šamaš-tabni-ušur	Erība-Marduk	brother of 9–11	559–548
9	Kī-Nabû	Erība-Marduk	brother of 8, 10–11	553–541
10	Aḫḫē-iddin-Marduk	Erība-Marduk	brother of 8–9, 11	542–535
11	Kī-Bēl	Erība-Marduk	brother of 8–10	542–526
12	Uballissu-Gula	Aḫḫē-iddin-Marduk	son of 10	521–486
13	Marduk-šum-ibni	Mušēzib-Marduk	brother of 14–16	[529–522]
14	Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim <sup>127</sup>	Mušēzib-Marduk	brother of 13, 15–16	529–502
15	Libluṭ	Mušēzib-Marduk	brother of 13–14, 16	524
16	Arad-Marduk	Mušēzib-Marduk	brother of 13–15	489

#### 2) *Šangû-Sippar / Šangû-Šamaš*

No.	First name	Patronymic	Affiliation	Date
17	Bēl-ibni	Ina-qībi-Bēl	father of 18	626
18	Kiribtu	Bēl-ibni	son of 17	575
19	Bēl-uballit	Kiribtu	son of 18	547–534
20	Iqīša-Marduk	Etel-pī-Šamaš	father of 21–22	535–533
21	Tabnēa	Iqīša-Marduk	son of 20; brother of 22	506/505

127. The person called Ḫabaširu is actually not a brother of Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim, but the same person (C. Waerzeggers, *Het archief van Marduk-rēmanni*, 157).

22	Ea-mudammiq	Iqīša-Marduk	son of 20; brother of 21	498–492
23	Nergal-ina-tēši-ētir	Zēria	father of 24	518–514
24	Nabû-ittannu	Nergal-ina-tēši-ētir	son of 23; father of 25	499
25	Bēl-bullissu	Nabû-ittannu	son of 24	484

3) *Ša-Nāšišu*

No.	First name	Patronymic	Affiliation	Date
26	Lūši-ana-nūri	Nabû-aḥḥē-iddina	father of 27	573
27	Nabû-šum-iškun	Lūši-ana-nūri	son of 26	555–548
28	Nidintu-Bēl	Nabû-šum-ukīn	brother of 29	533
29	Na'id-[Bēl/Nabû]	Nabû-šum-ukīn	brother of 28	517

4) *Šāhit-ginē*

No.	First name	Patronymic	Affiliation	Date
30	Nergal-šum-iddina	Iqīša	uncle of 31	518–508
31	Marduk-rēmanni	Bēl-uballit	nephew of 30	517–493